

State Dept. review completed

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

CABLE SEC DISSEM BY 38 PER

TOTAL COPIES

22-10

RUN BY

**SECRET**

(R)

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN  
ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

ADVANCE COPY ISSUED/SLOTTED

BY AT Z

ACTION UNIT

I  
N  
F  
O

RF FILE

-VH

OC/INES, CR/NE, OPR

OPR 3, OPCR 2, EUR 3, 353, OLC

DDO, FR, JLC

NON AGENCY MESSAGE

1		4	
2		5	
3		6	

T 151073

EIA000

PAGE 01-01

NC 12131

TOR1102042Z JUL 75

NNNNVV EIC958

DSM 543

EIA489LAN801

PP RUEAII

ZNR UUUUU ZOC STATE ZZH

IPF RUQMGU RUQMAT RUQMQG RUDTC RUFHNA RUEHDT

DE RUEHC #2388 1912007

ZNR UUUUU ZZH

P 101936Z JUL 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY 0000

INFO RUQMAT/AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY 0000

RUQMQG/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY 0000

RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0000

RUFHNA/USMISSION NATO PRIORITY 0000

RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW PRIORITY 0000

BT

UNCLAS STATE 162388

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: MASS, TU, CY

SUBJECT: AID TO TURKEY

1. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF OPENING STATEMENT BY UNDER-  
SECRETARY SISCO ON TURKISH AID JULY 10 IN HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE ~~INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE~~  
~~OF REPRESENTATIVES.~~

2. BEGIN TEXT:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

I COME BEFORE YOU TODAY TO ENLIST YOUR SUPPORT IN  
PRESERVING OUR VITAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR  
NATO ALLY, TURKEY, AND IN STRENGTHENING OUR CLOSE  
TIES WITH AN EQUALLY IMPORTANT NATO ALLY, GREECE. YOU  
HAVE ALREADY SEEN THE MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT IN  
WHICH HE EXPLAINED HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE DETERIORATING  
SITUATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, THE THAT FY

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

**SECRET**

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

CABLE SEC DISSEM BY		PER	TOTAL COPIES		RUN BY	24	REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED	
PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED								
ADVANCE COPY ISSUED/SLOTTED		BY	AT	Z				
ACTION UNIT	I	RF	FILE	VR	1		4	
	N				2		5	
ACTION #	F				3		6	
	O							

NC 12131

Page 2

OUR MILITARY FACILITIES IN TURKEY, AND THE PLIGHT OF

THE PEOPLES OF CYPRUS. AS THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED M  
HIS MESSAGE, PROHIBITING MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SALES

TO TURKEY HAS HAD DAMAGING EFFECTS IN FOUR AREAS: (1)  
IT HAS WEAKENED THE ABILITY OF OUR TURKISH ALLY TO CON-  
TINUE TO FULFILL ITS ESSENTIAL NATO RESPONSIBILITIES  
THEREBY FURTHER DEBILITATING THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO;  
(2) IT HAS JEOPARDIZED COMMON DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS  
WHICH TURKEY AND THE US JOINTLY MAINTAIN AND WHICH  
SERVE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE US AND NATO; (3) IT HAS  
CONTRIBUTED TO TENSIONS WHICH ARE NOT HELPFUL TO ANY  
OF THE PARTIES, INCLUDING GREECE AND (4) IT HAS SEVERELY  
REDUCED AMERICAN INFLUENCE TO MOVE THE CYPRUS NEGOTIA-  
TIONS TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO ALL  
PARTIES.

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, WE FACE CHANGING RELATIONSHIPS  
WITH A NUMBER OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES. THE REASONS FOR  
THESE CHANGES ARE COMPLEX, AND IN SOME CASES WHERE THEY  
ADVERSELY AFFECT OUR INTERESTS, THERE IS LITTLE WE  
OURSELVES CAN DO TO REVERSE THEM. IN THE CASE OF

TURKEY, HOWEVER, SOMETHING CAN BE DONE. AND IN OUR  
JUDGMENT, IT MUST BE DONE QUICKLY.

WE MAINTAIN ALLIANCES AND PROVIDE MILITARY SUPPLIES --  
BOTH SALES AND ASSISTANCE -- TO A VARIETY OF FRIENDS  
AROUND THE WORLD, NOT AS A FAVOR TO A PARTICULAR COUNTRY

OR AS A UNILATERAL GESTURE OF GOODWILL, BUT BECAUSE WE  
BELIEVE SUCH RELATIONSHIPS ARE IN THE MUTUAL INTERESTS  
OF BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND OUR PARTNERS. THAT HAS  
BEEN THE CASE FOR ALMOST 30 YEARS, THROUGH SUCCESSIVE  
AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS, IN OUR ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIP  
WITH TURKEY.

WE ARE DEEPLY INTERESTED -- AND I WANT TO PUT PARTICULAR  
STRESS ON THIS -- IN IMPROVING OUR RELATIONS WITH GREECE.  
GREECE IS A COUNTRY WHOSE SECURITY AND PROSPERITY ARE

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

SECRET

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

CABLE NO. DISSEM BY PER

TOTAL COPIES

RUN BY

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

**SECRET**REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN  
ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

ADVANCE COPY ISSUED/SLOTTED

BY

AT

Z

ACTION UNIT

I  
N  
F  
O

RF FILE VR

ACTION #

1		4	
2		5	
3		6	

NC 12131

*Page 3*

OF PARTICULAR AND LONG-STANDING IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES. WE CAN LOOK BACK WITH PRIDE AND A SENSE OF ACHIEVEMENT AT WHAT THE GREEK PEOPLE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED WITH OUR HELP SINCE WORLD WAR II. WHEN WE BEGAN OUR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO THE GREEKS IN 1947, GREECE WAS IN THE GRIP OF A CRUEL AND RUINOUS CIVIL WAR. WE WORKED WITH THE GREEKS TO RESTORE THAT COUNTRY'S ECONOMY AND TO SHORE UP ITS SECURITY. WE ARE AS DEVOTED AS EVER TO THE WELL-BEING OF THE GREEK PEOPLE. WE ARE GRATIFIED THAT THE GREEK PEOPLE HAVE A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE ALREADY PROVIDING CASH AND CREDIT MILITARY SALES TO GREECE IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC REQUESTS FROM THE GREEK GOVERNMENT. WE ARE ALSO EXAMINING SYMPATHETICALLY REQUESTS FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AS WELL. MOREOVER, WE PLAN TO CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WITH A VIEW TO HELPING IN EVERY MEANINGFUL WAY WE CAN IN THE RECONCILIATION OF OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, NOT ONLY REGARDING CYPRUS BUT ALSO WITH RESPECT TO ISSUES IN DISPUTE BETWEEN THEM IN THE AEGEAN. IT IS FOR ALL THESE REASONS THAT WE WELCOME THE EXPRESSIONS OF CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR GREECE CONTAINED IN HR-8454 WHICH WAS INTRODUCED YESTERDAY BY CHAIRMAN MORGAN AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

THE ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO WORKING TOGETHER WITH THE CONGRESS ON THIS VITAL ISSUE. OUR RELATIONSHIP TO OUR GREEK AND TURKISH ALLIES IS NOT A PARTISAN MATTER. IT IS ONE WHICH REQUIRES COMMON UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION BETWEEN US.

AS YOU KNOW, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS REQUESTED AND THE SENATE HAS ADOPTED THE SCOTT-MANSFIELD BILL WHICH WOULD RESTORE GRANT ASSISTANCE AS WELL AS CASH AND THE CREDIT SALES TO TURKEY. THIS REMAINS THE LEGISLATIVE ACTION PREFERRED BY THE ADMINISTRATION. HOWEVER, AS THE PRESIDENT SAID YESTERDAY, AND REFLECTING THE DIALOGUE

AND COOPERATION WE SEEK WITH THE CONGRESS ON THIS ISSUE,

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

**SECRET**

CABLE SEC DISSEM BY		PER	TOTAL COPIES		RUN BY	REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED	
PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED		<b>SECRET</b>					
ADVANCE COPY ISSUED/SLOTTED		BY	AT	Z			
ACTION UNIT	I	RF	FILE	VR	1	4	
	N				2	5	
	F				3	6	
ACTION #	O						

*NC 12131*

*Page 4*

WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE COMPROMISE LEGISLATION  
(HR-8454) NOW BEFORE YOU.

LET ME NOW DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE MAIN ARGUMENTS AGAINST  
A RESTORATION OF SALES AND ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY WE  
HAVE HEARD FROM SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND FROM CON-  
CERNED AMERICANS.

FIRST THERE IS THE ASSERTION THAT TURKEY, DURING THE  
CRISIS OF LAST YEAR, VIOLATED THE AGREEMENT REQUIRED  
UNDER OUR LAW BY USING US PROVIDED EQUIPMENT IN WAYS  
NOT ENVISAGED IN THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT. WE UNDER-  
STAND AND RESPECT THIS POINT OF VIEW. AT THE SAME  
TIME I HAVE ALSO HEARD THE VIEW EXPRESSED THAT THE  
CONGRESS SHOULD NOT NOW REMOVE THE BAN IT HAS ENACTED  
AGAINST ARMS SHIPMENTS TO TURKEY BECAUSE OTHERWISE IT

WILL APPEAR TO APPROVE, OR AT LEAST CONDONE, THE TURKISH  
MILITARY INTERVENTION IN CYPRUS.

THIS IS NOT THE CASE. THE PROHIBITION AGAINST ARMS  
SHIPMENTS TO TURKEY HAS NOW BEEN IN EFFECT FOR MORE THAN  
FIVE MONTHS. IT HAS DEMONSTRATED TO TURKEY THE STRONG  
FEELINGS OF MANY IN THIS COUNTRY OVER THE MILITARY  
ACTION TAKEN BY TURKEY LAST YEAR. THIS PERIOD OF TIME  
HAS ALSO AFFORDED BOTH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND THE  
CONGRESS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS THE PROBABLE CONSE-  
QUENCES OF CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT PROHIBITION ON  
ARMS SHIPMENTS. A LIFTING OF THE PROHIBITION AT  
THIS TIME, BASED UPON CONSIDERATIONS OF WHAT IS IN THE  
BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, CANNOT BE CONSTRUED  
AS AN ENDORSEMENT OF TURKEY'S MILITARY ACTION LAST SUM-  
MER. CONGRESS HAS MADE THIS POINT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR  
BY ADOPTING THE EMBARGO LEGISLATION.

ACTION BY CONGRESS TO RECTIFY THE SITUATION, RATHER THAN

CONDONE THE TURKISH ACTION, WOULD REMOVE THE IMPAIRMENT  
TO OUR ABILITY TO PROMOTE AN EARLY NEGOTIATED SETTLE-  
MENT ON CYPRUS, TO MAINTAIN GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS  
WITH BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY, TO RESTORE THE SOLIDARITY

**SECRET**

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

CABLE SEC DISSEM BY _____		PER _____	TOTAL COPIES _____	RUN BY _____	REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED	
PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED _____		<b>SECRET</b>				
ADVANCE COPY ISSUED/SLOTTED _____		BY _____	AT _____	Z _____		
ACTION UNIT	I N F O	RF	FILE	VR	1	4
					2	5
ACTION #					3	6

NC 12131

Page 5

OF NATO AND TO PRESERVE IMPORTANT US SECURITY INTERESTS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. I CAN ASSURE THE CONGRESS THAT THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WILL NOT REPRESENT ACTION RECTIFYING THE PRESENT SITUATION AS CONDONING TURKISH MILITARY ACTION.

MOREOVER, WITH REGARD TO CYPRUS, THE SITUATION IS NOT ONE WHERE THERE IS A MONOPOLY OF RIGHT OR WRONG ON EITHER SIDE. THERE IS A LONG HISTORY OF DEEP DIVISIONS BETWEEN THE ETHNIC COMMUNITIES ON CYPRUS, AND OF RESULTING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO DEVISE WAYS TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF THE TWO POPULATION GROUPS UNDER A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD ALLOW CYPRUS TO FUNCTION AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION. HOWEVER, THE 1960 CONSTITUTION AND TREATY OF GUARANTEE FAILED TO RESOLVE THE MISTRUST AND ANIMOSITY EXISTING BETWEEN THE GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES. TWICE BEFORE THE CRISIS OF LAST SUMMER, TURKEY HAD BEEN ON THE BRINK OF MILITARY INTERVENTION BECAUSE OF REPRESSIVE ACTS AGAINST THE TURKISH MINORITY. WHEN THE GREEK JUNTA SUDDENLY INTERVENED LAST YEAR AND OVERTHREW THE GOVERNMENT OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS, REPLACING IT WITH ONE

LED BY NICOS SAMPSON, A FOREMOST EXPONENT OF TERROR TACTICS AND ENOSIS WITH GREECE, TURKEY BECAME ALARMED AND FEARFUL OF THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE TURKISH-CYPRIOTS. THIS ACT STARTED THE UNFORTUNATE CHAIN OF EVENTS WE HAVE SEEN THIS PAST YEAR IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

THERE ARE ALSO SOME WHO SAY WE HAVE NOT WORKED HARD ENOUGH OR IMAGINATIVELY ENOUGH SINCE LAST SUMMER IN TRYING TO BRING ABOUT A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. I THINK A BRIEF LOOK AT THE RECORD WILL DEMONSTRATE THAT THIS ALLEGATION IS FALSE.

IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, VIGOROUS EFFORTS WERE MADE BY THE US TO FIND A WAY TO AVOID MILITARY INTERVENTION IN CYPRUS. ONCE IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE GUARANTOR

POWERS COULD NOT AGREE ON RESTORING THE STATUS QUO ANTE, THERE WAS UNFORTUNATELY NO WAY THAT ARMED INTERVENTION BY

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

**SECRET**

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

CABLE SEC DISSEM BY \_\_\_\_\_ PER \_\_\_\_\_ TOTAL COPIES \_\_\_\_\_ RUN BY \_\_\_\_\_

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED \_\_\_\_\_

**SECRET**REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN  
ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

ADVANCE COPY ISSUED SLOTTED \_\_\_\_\_

BY \_\_\_\_\_ AT \_\_\_\_\_ Z \_\_\_\_\_

ACTION UNIT

I  
N  
F  
O

RF FILE VR

ACTION #

1		4	
2		5	
3		6	

NC12131

*Page 6*

TURKEY COULD HAVE BEEN PREVENTED, SHORT OF ACTIVE MILITARY INTERVENTION BY THE UNITED STATES -- A COURSE WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN APPROVED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

SINCE THOSE TRAGIC EVENTS, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN CONTINUOUSLY AND INTENSELY INVOLVED IN ENCOURAGING AND ASSISTING THE PARTIES TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WHICH WOULD RESTORE BOTH PEACE ON THE ISLAND AND HARMONY IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GREEK-CYPRIOT AND TURKISH-CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES. OUR TASK HAS OBVIOUSLY NOT BEEN EASY. IN THE WEEKS AND EARLY MONTHS AFTER THE HOSTILITIES, THE SUSPICIONS AND PASSIONS WERE SO

DEEP THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE AT TIMES EVEN TO BRING THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, NOT TO SPEAK OF PRODUCING PROGRESS TOWARDS A SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER FACTORS, EXTRANEIOUS TO CYPRUS, PARTICULARLY POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY IN TURKEY, WHICH HAVE IMPEDED PROGRESS. WE HAD REASON TO EXPECT LAST FALL THAT THE ECEVIT GOVERNMENT WOULD UNDERTAKE IMPORTANT GESTURES RELATING TO TURKISH TROOP REDUCTIONS, TROOP PULLBACKS, AND GREEK-CYPRIOT REFUGEES WHICH WOULD HAVE IMPROVED THE NEGOTIATING ATMOSPHERE AND THE PROSPECTS FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. BUT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT FELL AT THAT TIME, THEREBY ENDING OUR HOPES FOR EARLY PROGRESS. TURKEY THEN ENTERED A LONG

PERIOD OF POLITICAL STALEMATE UNDER A CARETAKER GOVERNMENT, AND IT WAS ONLY RECENTLY THAT A POLITICAL GOVERNMENT UNDER PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL WAS ESTABLISHED WITH

ONLY A NARROW MAJORITY IN THE TURKISH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

NEVERTHELESS, THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD, WE CONTINUED OUR EFFORTS WITH GREEK, TURKISH, AND CYPRIOT LEADERS TO CREATE THE GROUNDWORK FOR THE NEGOTIATION OF A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. AS A CONSEQUENCE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S MEETINGS IN BRUSSELS IN DECEMBER WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS, INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WERE RESUMED IN JANUARY. THE STRATEGY THROUGHOUT WAS, AND IS,

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

**SECRET**

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

CABLE SEC DISSEM BY \_\_\_\_\_ PER \_\_\_\_\_ TOTAL PAGES \_\_\_\_\_ RUN BY \_\_\_\_\_

**SECRET**REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN  
ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED \_\_\_\_\_

ADVANCE COPY ISSUED/SLOTTED \_\_\_\_\_

BY \_\_\_\_\_ AT \_\_\_\_\_ Z \_\_\_\_\_

ACTION UNIT

I  
N  
F  
O

RF FILE

VR

ACTION #

1		4	
2		5	
3		6	

NL 12131

*Page 7*

TO ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR, TO ALL THE PARTIES, THAT THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION SHOULD INCLUDE AGREEMENT ON CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ALONG FEDERAL LINES, TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS AND AN EASING OF THE REFUGEE SITUATION. WE HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED OUR VIEW THAT CYPRUS MUST REMAIN A SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE.

THIS SPRING, SECRETARY KISSINGER MADE TWO SPECIAL TRIPS TO ANKARA TO REINFORCE OUR EFFORTS TO FIND A SOLUTION AND ALSO TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN OVER THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN THE AEGEAN AREA. THESE TALKS WERE LATER FOLLOWED BY MEETINGS IN BRUSSELS BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND PRIME MINISTERS CARAMANLIS AND DEMIREL. IT WAS PARTLY AS A RESULT OF OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS THAT A DIRECT GREEK-TURKISH DIALOGUE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. THIS DIALOGUE CAN HELP TO DEFUSE THE TENSE SITUATION IN THE AEGEAN AND SHOULD HELP TO MAINTAIN A POSITIVE CLIMATE WITHIN WHICH TURKEY AND GREECE CAN CONTINUE EFFORTS TO HELP ACHIEVE A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. MEANWHILE, WE HAVE CONTINUED ACTIVELY TO SUPPORT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS BETWEEN THE GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS WHICH BEGAN UNDER

THE AUSPICES OF UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM IN MAY AND WHICH WILL BE RECONVENED IN VIENNA LATER THIS MONTH.

IN OUR JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, OUR ROLE IN PROMOTING EITHER THESE TALKS OR THE GREEK-TURKISH DIALOGUE IS SERIOUSLY CIRCUMSCRIBED AS LONG AS WE MAINTAIN A POLICY OF TOTAL DENIAL OF US MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO TURKEY. WE CAN UNDERSTAND THE REASONS WHICH LED THE CONGRESS TO IMPOSE

THIS BAN, AND THE VIEW THAT TURKEY HAD VIOLATED AGREEMENTS WITH THE US WHEN IT USED US MILITARY EQUIPMENT WITHOUT OUR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT ITS MILITARY OPERATIONS IN CYPRUS LAST SUMMER. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS CLEARLY NOT IN THE US NATIONAL INTEREST TO MAINTAIN AN EMBARGO THAT WEAKENS OUR INFLUENCE, JEOPARDIZES OUR NATO DEFENSES BY DEPRIVING OUR TURKISH ALLY OF THE MILITARY EQUIPMENT IT NEEDS TO DISCHARGE ITS ALLIANCE RESPONSIBILITIES AND IMPEDES PROGRESS IN THE CYPRUS

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

**SECRET**

CABLE SEC DISSEM BY		PER	TOTAL COPIES		RUN BY	REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED	
PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED		<b>SECRET</b>					
ADVANCE COPY ISSUED/SLOTTED		BY	AT	Z			
ACTION UNIT	I	RF	FILE	VR	1	4	
	N				2	5	
	F				3	6	
ACTION	O						

NYC 1231

Page 8

NEGOTIATIONS.

I HAVE DEALT AT LENGTH WITH THESE MATTERS BECAUSE I BELIEVE THEY ARE CENTRAL TO YOUR CONCERNS. BUT THERE ARE OTHER QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN RAISED, WHICH DESERVE DIRECT ANSWERS.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO ARGUE THAT LIFTING THE TURKISH EMBARGO COULD BE CONSTRUED AS AN ANTI-GREEK MOVE. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THIS IS AN ARGUMENT BASED ON A FALSE PREMISE. THE MAINTENANCE OF AN ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY, NOW MORE THAN A GENERATION OLD, IS CERTAINLY NOT DIRECTED AGAINST GREECE. GREECE HAS A VITAL STAKE IN HAVING TURKEY A PART OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE SYSTEM, AND IN THE LAST ANALYSIS STABILITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IS LARGELY DEPENDENT UPON THE COOPERATION OF OUR TWO CLOSE ALLIES, GREECE AND TURKEY.

SOME HAVE ALSO ASKED WHY THE TURKS COULD NOT DO SOME THING -- MAKE CONCESSIONS, PLEDGE SECRETLY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS AT SOME LATER DATE, OR MAKE SOME GESTURE IN THE HUMANITARIAN FIELD BEFORE THE CONGRESS ITSELF UNDERTAKES NEW LEGISLATIVE ACTION. SIMPLE ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS DO NOT EXIST. THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT CANNOT AND WILL NOT MAKE ADVANCE CONCESSIONS, WHICH WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY THE TURKISH PEOPLE TO BE CAPITULATION TO OUTSIDE PRESSURE. IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT PRESSURE FOR PRIOR CONCESSIONS RELATING TO THE EMBARGO WILL ONLY FURTHER HARDEN THE TURKISH STANCE, BOTH ON CYPRUS AND WITH RESPECT TO FACILITIES IN TURKEY.

THE QUESTION HAS BEEN ASKED WHETHER ONCE THE HOUSE PASSES LEGISLATION THE TURKS WILL IN FACT THEN BE READY TO BE MORE CONCILIATORY AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.

FRANKLY, I CANNOT GIVE YOU CATEGORIC ASSURANCES. FLEXIBILITY, OF COURSE, WILL BE REQUIRED ON BOTH SIDES. BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE ARE DETERMINED TO USE US INFLUENCE IN BRINGING ABOUT CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS BECAUSE OUR INTERESTS, THOSE OF THE PARTIES, AND

**SECRET**



Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

CABLE SEC DISSEM BY \_\_\_\_\_ PER \_\_\_\_\_ TOTAL COPIES \_\_\_\_\_ RUN BY \_\_\_\_\_

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED \_\_\_\_\_

**SECRET**

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN  
ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

ADVANCE COPY ISSUED/SLOTTED \_\_\_\_\_

BY \_\_\_\_\_ AT \_\_\_\_\_ Z \_\_\_\_\_

ACTION UNIT \_\_\_\_\_

I  
N  
F  
O  
RF FILE VR

1		4	
2		5	
3		6	

ACTION # \_\_\_\_\_

NC 12131

*Page 9*

OF NATO REQUIRE NO LESS THAN A MAXIMUM EFFORT. FAILURE

ON THE PART OF TURKEY TO ADOPT A FLEXIBLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE POSITION, IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, WOULD GO TO THE HEART OF THE AMERICAN-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP.

FINALLY, LET ME ALSO SAY A WORD ABOUT THE OPIUM ISSUE WHICH IS A MATTER OF DEEP CONCERN TO ALL AMERICANS. IN JULY OF LAST YEAR THE TURKS DID, INDEED, LIFT THEIR FORMAL BAN ON THE CULTIVATION OF THE OPIUM POPPY. BUT THE GOVERNMENT ALSO ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION OF MEETING ITS OBLIGATION TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY TO PREVENT THE POPPY HARVEST IN TURKEY FROM BEING DIVERTED INTO ILLICIT CHANNELS. SINCE THEN TURKEY HAS OUTLAWED COMPLETELY THE HARD-TO-CONTROL BLEEDING OF THE POPPIES BY THE FARMERS IN THE FIELD. IT HAS PUT INTO EFFECT MEASURES TO ENFORCE THIS BAN. FARMERS, UNDER THE LAW, HAVE TO SELL THEIR POPPY STRAW TO THE GOVERNMENT AT A FIXED PRICE, WHICH IS BACKED BY A UNITED NATIONS STANDBY COMPENSATION FUND. THE OBJECTIVE, THROUGH THE COMBINATION OF A GOVERNMENT PRICE HIGH ENOUGH TO MAKE SALES TO THE GOVERNMENT ATTRACTIVE AND A STRENGTHENED CONTROL MECHANISM, IS TO TRY TO KEEP THE PRODUCT OF THE OPIUM POPPY IN GOVERNMENT HANDS AND OUT OF THE ILLEGAL MARKET. THE FIRST HARVEST UNDER THIS NEW PROCEDURE IS NOW UNDERWAY. PRELIMINARY REPORTS ON THE HARVESTING AND CONTROL PROCESS ARE GOOD. BOTH US AND UN PERSONNEL ARE WATCHING THIS MATTER VERY CLOSELY. WE BELIEVE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS HEAVILY COMMITTED TO MAKING THE SYSTEM WORK.

TO SUM UP, MR. CHAIRMAN, BEFORE TAKING THE COMMITTEE'S QUESTIONS, I WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION SOLICITS THE BIPARTISAN UNDERSTANDING, SUPPORT, AND COOPERATION OF THE CONGRESS IN HELPING TO AMELIORATE A SERIOUS FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEM OF MANY DIMENSIONS AND GREAT COMPLEXITY. WE SEEK TO PRESERVE OUR FRIENDSHIP AND VITAL ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS WITH BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE EARNESTLY SEEK A NEGOTIATED AND

Approved For Release 2004/07/07 : CIA-RDP77M00144R000300020007-3

**SECRET**

CABLE SEC DISSEM BY PER

TOTAL COPIES

RUN BY

**SECRET**REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN  
ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

ADVANCE COPY ISSUED/SLOTTED

BY

AT

Z

ACTION UNIT

RF. FILE VR.

ACTION #

I  
N  
F  
O

1		4	
2		5	
3		6	

NC12131

Page 10 -10

DURABLE CYPRUS SOLUTION WHICH WOULD RESTORE TRANQUILITY TO THAT TROUBLED ISLAND AND, BY ENABLING GREECE AND TURKEY TO PUT THE CYPRUS PROBLEM BEHIND THEM, RESOLVE OTHER OUTSTANDING ISSUES, AND RESTORE STABILITY TO THEIR REGION.

WE HOPE THE CONGRESS WILL ACT SPEEDILY ON THE COMPROMISE BILL (HR-8454) SUBMITTED YESTERDAY. END TEXT. INGERSOLL

BT

#2388

**SECRET**